

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01     SECTO 27022 140145Z

64

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

----- 095968

Z O 140050Z SEP 76 ZFF-6

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN ZURICH

TO AMEMBASSY LONDON FLASH

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTO 27022

NODIS/CHEROKEE

DEPARTMENT FOR HABIB

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS TO WHITE HOUSE FOR SCOWCROFT

FOR AMBASSADOR ARMSTRONG FROM THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UK, AF, OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER

1. YOU SHOULD GIVE THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM ME TO  
CALLAGHAN TO THE FOREIGN SECRETARY AS SOON AFTER OPENING  
OF BUSINESS AS POSSIBLE. IN HANDING OVER MESSAGE YOU SHOULD  
TELL CROSLAND I WANTED HIM TO SEE MESSAGE BEFORE IT WAS  
DELIVERED, AND ASK THAT HE TRANSMIT IT TO THE PRIME  
MINISTER AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, UNLESS HE PERSONALLY OBJECTS TO  
ITS CONTENT.

2. BEGIN TEXT: "DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: AS ANTONY  
WILL HAVE TOLD YOU, WE HAVE RECEIVED A MESSAGE FROM  
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER WHICH TAKES STRONG EXCEPTION  
TO THE CHANGE YOU AND I HAD AGREED UPON IN ANNEX C,  
WHICH WOULD GIVE BLACKS A MAJORITY ON THE INTERIM  
GOVERNMENT'S COUNCIL OF STATE. HE ARGUES THAT TO TAKE  
THIS STEP WOULD HAVE THE PRACTICAL EFFECT OF MOVING TO  
MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IMMEDIATELY, THEREBY SHORT-CUTTING  
THE WHOLE PURPOSE BEHIND THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT CONCEPT.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02     SECTO 27022 140145Z

AFTER SOME THOUGHT I HAVE COME TO THE RELUCTANT

CONCLUSION THAT, GIVEN VORSTER'S STRONG OBJECTIONS, WE SHOULD RETURN TO THE ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF A WHITE MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL OF STATE DURING THE PERIOD OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT.

FROM A SUBSTANTIVE STANDPOINT THERE IS, I FEAR, A CLEAR DANGER THAT THE WHITE RHODESIANS WILL FLATLY REFUSE TO ACCEPT A BLACK MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL, THEREBY LEADING TO AN IMMEDIATE BREAK IN THE MOMENTUM WE HAVE THUS FAR ESTABLISHED. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF FULL MAJORITY RULE IS ASSURED TO THE BLACKS AFTER 18 TO 20 MONTHS, AND IF THEY ARE ALSO ASSURED AN IMMEDIATE MAJORITY ON THE CABINET, AS THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF ANNEX C DOES, THEY WILL HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS.

FROM A PROCEDURAL VIEWPOINT, VORSTER ACCEPTED ANNEX C AS ORIGINALLY DRAFTED BY THE UK, WITH ITS WHITE MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL. TO SEEK NOW TO CHANGE THAT MAJOR POINT COULD WELL LEAD VORSTER TO RETREAT FROM THE MANY CONCESSIONS YOU AND WE HAVE ALREADY RUNG FROM HIM. I VERY MUCH DOUBT THAT INSISTANCE ON A REVISION OF THE ORIGINAL ANNEX C DRAFT NOW, WITH THE POSSIBLE ATTENDANT CONSEQUENCES SO FAR AS VORSTER IS CONCERNED, IS WORTH THE COST.

I DO NOT MINIMIZE THE POTENTIAL DIFFICULTIES INsofar AS THE BLACK RHODESIANS ARE CONCERNED, BUT IT MAY WELL BE THAT THESE DIFFICULTIES COULD BE REDUCED BY REORDERING THE DIVISION OF POWERS BETWEEN THE CABINET, AND THE COUNCIL OF STATE, STRENGTHENING THE FORMER AND WEAKENING THE LATTER.

I SHOULD ALSO ADD, HOWEVER, THAT I AM NOT PERSUADED THAT A WHITE MAJORITY COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD NECESSARILY PREJUDICE THE SCHEME IN THE EYES OF THE BLACK AFRICAN PRESIDENTS. THEY WILL HAVE ACHIEVED THE CENTRAL OBJECTIVE FOR WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN STRUGGLING FOR YEARS: AN IRREVOCABLE PROCESS TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE WITHIN A FIXED TERM. FURTHERMORE, SMITH WOULD, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD, BE OUT DURING THE  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03     SECTO 27022 140145Z

TRANSITION. THIS, AND NOT THE FACT THAT THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT'S COUNCIL OF STATE WOULD HAVE A WHITE MAJORITY, SHOULD BE DECISIVE. IN ANY EVENT, THE IMPORTANT THING IS TO GET THE TRANSITION TO AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. AFTER THAT GOVERNMENT IS IN PLACE ADJUSTMENTS WILL BE POSSIBLE WITH THE AGREEMENT OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED.

THUS, I URGE THAT YOU AGREE THAT WE RETURN

TO THE ORIGINAL UK VERSION OF ANNEX C, WITH ITS CONCEPT  
OF A WHITE MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL. IF YOU AGREE, I  
WOULD SUGGEST THAT YOU HAVE PETER RAMSBOTHAM ADVISE UNDER  
SECRETARY HABIB IN WASHINGTON WHO WILL KNOW HOW TO REACH  
ME, OR THAT YOU REACH ME THROUGH RICHARD SAMUELS,  
WHO I BELIEVE WILL BE IN DIRECT TOUCH WITH US IN AFRICA  
SHORTLY. WARM REGARDS, HENRY A. KISSINGER. END TEXT" KISSINGER

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** SECTO, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, INTERIM GOVERNMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-C, CHEROKEE 09/14/76  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 14 SEP 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** saccheem  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976SECTO27022  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** P840109-2331  
**From:** SECRETARY ZURICH  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760962/aaaacayu.tel  
**Line Count:** 122  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NODS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** saccheem  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 MAY 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 MAY 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <09 SEP 2004 by saccheem>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MESSAGE TO THE PRIME MINISTER  
**TAGS:** PFOR, OVIP, PSDC, UK, US, AF, SF, RH, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (CALLAGHAN, JAMES), (CROSLAND, ANTHONY)  
**To:** STATE SS  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006